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Berea—by the presidents or some leading representative of the institution, and these addresses were published together in a volume entitled "From Servitude to Service." It was a remarkable survey of remarkable achievement. It was published only six years ago, in 1905, when I venture to say that there had been up to that time altogether not so many words of strong and cordial congratulation in high Southern places upon that educational advance as have been uttered in the subsequent six years. That volume could be matched by one equally impressive made up of addresses by presidents of Southern universities and other leading Southern men recognizing and urging that the negro race must have as its preachers, teachers, lawyers, and doctors men of the highest education, and that no solution of the race question is possible which is not based upon the desire to develop every race to its highest capacity.

This is promising and prophetic, and it is indicative of the new insight and new conscience which are coming into the consideration of the race question everywhere. The wrongs to our Southern negroes, political and social, are still flagrant and intolerable; but I am emphasizing here the elements of hope and genuine advance. I believe that in the next decade the new humanity which is becoming so pervasive will achieve no greater triumphs than in the field of inter-racial justice, and it will do this the more rapidly and effectively as we all make the world our parish and work together internationally.

The most impressive volume which has come to my table this last year is that great volume of 1,500 pages, "La Vie Internationale," issued by the International Bureau at Brussels, and giving lists and accounts of the world's various international organizations up to date in the fields of politics, science, literature, art, and social affairs, with details of their organization and their approaching congresses. It is a potent picture of the broad international web which has already been woven and of the thousand shuttles which, with ever accelerating speed, are pushing on the process. There is no other lack in those eloquent pages so conspicuous as the lack of record of adequate international organizations of the imperative many-sided cause which is represented here. I hail this Congress as a pledge that that deficiency will now be met, and that this commanding international duty will be internationally fulfilled.

Demos and a World Tribunal.

By Bradley Gilman.

The signs of the times point toward a permanent world tribunal as an accomplished fact in the not distant future. More international disputes have been settled peacefully during the past decade than during the previous half century. The word "Peace" occurs in the newspapers and the magazines with increasing frequency, and the idea is put forward, without apology or explanation, in after-dinner speeches and public addresses. Workers in the cause of world peace are less and less of the bizarre type, this cause having drawn to itself earnest men and women of social, educational, and political distinction. The editorials of our leading publications very generally assume the hatefulness and

wastefulness of war among civilized nations, and—what is extremely significant—the humorous papers and the wit-and-humor paragraphs of serious journals take for granted, as the crux of their jesting, that war is an anachronism, and should be discredited and discarded. Last of all, as the high-water mark of this rising tide of world thought and feeling, the highest official of our Republic has recently moved for unrestricted arbitration between our nation and the mother country and others.

These certainly are unmistakable and hopeful signs of the times; but ought we therefore to expect our cruisers and submarines to be consigned at once to the scrap heap? Will the war offices at Washington and London soon be given over to cobwebs and silence? And shall we disband our peace societies ere long in a paean of thanksgiving?

No; the Presidential hand of fellowship stretched across the sea is by no means definitive; our Chief Executive's overture may prove to be only educational; it is not at all a complete and binding contract, because the real contracting parties as yet have not been heard from. It is the mass of the people in Great Britain and the mass of people in the United States who hold the casting vote, and they have not yet declared themselves; it is Demos who strikes down or upholds the hands of its temporary leaders; it is Demos alone whose fiat lets loose the dogs of war or closes the temple of Janus.

In the armory grounds at Springfield, Massachusetts, a quaint old Spanish cannon may be seen, corroded and tarnished with the copper green of centuries; upon it the founders inscribed the legend "*Ultima Ratio Regum*." And such it was when it emerged from the mold; out of its mouth thundered harsh commands which silenced the softer voices of reason and pity; when it spoke, all peaceful deliberations ceased; like a motion to adjourn it took precedence of all other forms of procedure. But Demos has changed all that. From the old Roman days, when the Plebs seceded to the Sacred Mount, down to the recent revolutions in Portugal and Mexico, Demos has been finding himself, has been coming into his own, and today in Europe and America Demos is the half-blind, groping, fitful giant who holds the issues of war and the omens of peace in his half-open hand.

Few of us realize how final, how absolute, in these democratic days of crumbling customs and shattered shackles is the power of the people. The pressure of public opinion always has been great, but never was it as great as today. In the quaint old Bible story, Cain the murderer was sent forth into the world "with a mark upon his forehead." That mark determined his punishment, for by it his fellow-men were to know that he had shed innocent blood, and they were not to lift any hand of retribution over him, but were to condemn him in their hearts and look their condemnation at him as he passed; it was the pitiless punitive power of public opinion which was invoked against Cain, and it was so potent that the man slayer cried, in anguish, "My punishment is greater than I can bear."

In our own day this power is equally great, and its channels of expression are grooved more deeply than ever before. Even our language and our pronunciation are determined for us by the plain people. Linguists

may tell us what ought to be, but the million-tongued populace declares what shall be, and illicit unions of verbal roots and suffixes become established, and barbarous, slangy expletives are standardized and soon stalk boldly about in the best academic society. Whether or not in this particular *Vox Populi* is identical with *Vox Dei* need not be discussed here; at least it is all-powerful in its fiat.

If the giant Demos were a creature only of rationalization the problems of human progress would be much simpler than now they are; but Demos is quite as emotional as he is thoughtful and reflective, and more so; he is led blindly at times by his groping instincts, and his varying judgments are often quite inconsistent one with another, his mandates are often mutually contradictory; as in the case of the ancient Macedonian monarch, appeal must sometimes be made "from Philip drunken to Philip sober." This is the cloud which casts a shadow over the sunny path of progress toward international peace; Demos may assent and ratify in his calmer mood the fraternal overtures between high officials; but let friction and heat develop in the machinery of adjustment, and the impatient giant is likely to forswear all pledges, burst all barriers, and clamor for war and the arbitrament of rifle and cannon. At this point the full deadly power of the "yellow press" makes itself felt; from sordid motives venal journals rouse and foment the dormant war appetite of the people, and Demos is goaded into a conflict which he alone might not have sought. This has happened many times, and may happen again. Before the attack on Fort Sumter unscrupulous newspapers inflamed passions already too heated, and before the Spanish War President McKinley's wise humane plans were nullified and his hand was forced by the demands of a maddened public goaded by yellow journals. In this respect history may repeat itself even on some question between Great Britain and the United States. Demos, in his calm mood, might drowsily approve an "unrestricted" compact between these powers, yet when irritated and goaded he might lapse into the habits of past centuries and call for war and reprisals.

All this leads to one inevitable conclusion: an International High Court will be possible and authoritative and definitive only when the masses of the people are educated to the point of maintaining and respecting it. A "yellow press" is created in part by a "yellow public;" and Demos, the essential factor in world arbitration, must be trained in mind and will to uphold this new method of justice, else official overtures will be wasted and deftly-spun treaties will be snapped like threads. A treaty or an "understanding" between Washington and London or Berlin, untested by the popular will, under the clamor of demagogues and the goading of yellow journals is no better than Don Quixote's visor of pasteboard.

Here, therefore, is the crux of the whole problem and project of world arbitration, of law instead of war; if Demos can be educated to stand firmly for it, even when rivalry and bitterness are aroused, then, and then only, will armor plate sell as junk and the War Office be offered for rental. Subsidiary methods can be debated and minor contributory factors pointed out, but the education of Demos to the arbitration level is the one main issue before the world. Leaders in the peace

movement must recall old Cato and his insistent "*Carthago delenda est*;" they must iterate and reiterate workers and to themselves, "Demos must be educated."

But how? This all-important question calls for an answer which shall be definite and concrete even to the verge of the commonplace. Flights of idealism must be abjured; pragmatism must be the sole ruling principle, utility the sole test. How can we transform or confirm public opinion and public feeling and the public will so that the people will as readily look to an International High Court for settlement of international differences as now they do, in the main, to internal courts, to settle industrial differences?

There are many agencies which might be used for this educational purpose in addition to that personal intercourse and conversation by which the individual man may do much to enlighten and persuade his friend, and, selecting from the longer list which might be named, I point out six methods of systematic education of the people at large:

First, the use of printed matter, in the form of tracts and pamphlets and circulars. This is the most natural way of reaching the eye and ear and will of the people; it is the method much used by widely diverse individuals and institutions; by it alert advertisers of a new baking powder and the dignified faculty of a college or university insert their beliefs and their wishes under our front doors or smuggle them into our letter boxes. By this method they seek to inform our minds and shape our conduct, and they do usually succeed in getting at least the "image and superscription" of their wares under our eye.

This same method is at the command of the worker for world peace, and is already used. How large an amount of the printed matter sent out is actually read and how much of it goes directly into the waste basket is a matter of conjecture. Sagacious advertisers, however, count their money well expended if one-third of their reading matter reaches the mind of the public, and the output of similar reading matter by peace workers is worth while under similar conditions and with similar results.

As the second of the agencies which might be used for educating Demos I name "public lectures and addresses." In cities and towns all over our land the voice of the earnest advocate of arbitration and peace should be heard; in halls, in pulpits, at public dinners, before conventions, in schools, and even on the open common and square, the propaganda for "peace through judicial procedure" should be carried forward. If possible, hundreds of lecturers might profitably be put into the field—men of reputation as speakers and known to be enthusiastic advocates of world peace. But just here arises a difficulty: How shall audiences be gathered? For, in this land of vivid impressions and highly-seasoned entertainments, the old-time method of a modest placard and a paragraph in the local paper will not suffice to draw the desired company of listeners into a hall. A lecturer who is famous or some grotesque advertisement may serve once; but the serious barrier which would obstruct the path of hundreds of excellent peace lecturers who might be put into the field must be frankly recognized; the great public, sometimes apathetic, sometimes over-stimulated, will not flock into a hall to hear discussed so serious a theme as "In-

ternational Arbitration" or "World Peace—How Reached?"

This difficulty is measurably overcome when speakers from abroad, properly heralded, like our recent visitors, the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant and the Count Apponyi, are announced in a newspaper column or on a street poster. Such visitors are likely to find a wide and attentive hearing, although their power of persuading and convincing possibly is not as great, unit for unit, as would be that of hundreds of other speakers who are more at home in our language and look at our problems from our viewpoint.

There is a way of meeting this serious difficulty of public apathy toward not only arbitration, but other serious public questions; it is by appealing to the love of pictures, which today is putting millions of dollars into the pockets of enterprising proprietors of "moving picture shows" and similar entertainments. The public interest in pictures cannot be doubted when one takes note of the illustrations which adorn the pages of our magazines and our daily newspapers. Whether or not this eagerness to gain knowledge or emotions from pictures indicates a decline in the modern man's faculty of visual fancy need not here be discussed; but today men, women, and children do love and seek pictorial illustration, and they will fill any hall where an "illustrated lecture" is to be given, when the lecturer would have faced empty benches if he had not lured the public by promising a stereopticon.

Dr. Edward Everett Hale—who was always abreast of his age, and often in advance of it—became much interested in this pictorial method of instruction during the last year of his life, and at his death he left unfinished one or two pictorial lectures which he was writing "to order," to be given with a set of stereopticon slides, "and given," as Dr. Hale said, "if desirable, by 'the best reader' in any grammar school class in the land, while another member of the class, skillful of hand, managed the stereopticon."

This efficient means of reaching and teaching the public would be extremely effective in the crusade for the education of the masses in the ideas and ideals of international arbitration. Sketches of several lectures suggest themselves at this writing; historical lectures could be made to set forth the horrors of war; the art galleries and palaces of Europe offer abundant material for the study of battlefields; photographs of the ghastly facts of our own Civil War and the Spanish War are obtainable, and these pictures, thrown upon the screen, and properly interpreted by a trained speaker, would reach, through eye and ear, the hearts and wills of the audience with convincing and transforming power. No other agency in the campaign for peace education would be as fruitful as this.

A third method of educating our giant Demos would be the employment of press agents who should work through the newspapers, furnishing articles, letters, and items, and replying to those misleading paragraphs and hysterical appeals which often appear in our journals, and can easily be explained or confuted.

A fourth suggestion as to the education of Demos is this: A great work of fiction, setting forth the idea and aims of the world peace movement would be a powerful agency for its consummation. Such books as "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Ramona," and "Black Beauty" were of

varying literary merit, but each effected much for the reform it advocated. We may not be able to command at will such powerful works of fiction as these for our great world reform, but if prizes were offered of alluring magnitude these would certainly stimulate fiction writers, and would lead to results of considerable value.

A similar suggestion—as the fifth in our series—might be made regarding the drama. We have had many strong, successful plays which set forth the fascinations of army life, and sounded the note of patriotism as translated into terms of militarism; but plays equally powerful could be written which should portray the horrors of the battlefield, should sound the call of the higher patriotism, should voice the finer loyalty of this new age, and should embody the heroisms of citizenship which dares oppose the wholesale homicide of warfare, yet risks life and honor in an unending campaign of integrity against corruption, justice against tyranny, in the social and industrial and political life of our nation. As in the case of books, works of fiction, already mentioned, so also in the case of the drama, some of our most successful plays have been called into being by offers of prizes, and if prizes were now offered for peace plays, such offers would result fruitfully, and the agency of the stage—that very persuasive and potent factor in shaping the conduct and character of the people—would be enlisted on the side of world peace and the higher civilization which that peace would mean.

Other agencies there are of varying feasibility and fruitfulness available for the furtherance of the peace ideal. One more, the sixth, I name, at the risk of raising a smile on the faces of too hasty readers; it is the enrollment of music in this great cause. The appeal of music, vocal or instrumental, primarily is to the heart, and secondly to the mind, and the heart of Demos is the chief point of attack in an educational campaign. Vocal music, with its words attuned to the key of international brotherhood, might stir the heart-strings as nothing else could. "If I may write the songs of a people, I care not who frames its laws," said Fletcher, of Saltoun, because a people, a nation—yes, Demos himself—acts from the heart, and the conduct—the heart-directed will of Demos—is what we seek to determine and direct. In the days of the Civil War groups of patriotic singers like "the Hutchinson family" and "the Fowle family" went up and down our land appealing to the hearts of the people by means of music, and I doubt not they did much to arouse and nourish patriotism by their singing. With a passing allusion to the well-known stimulating power of the "Marseillaise Hymn" and an instant's recollection of the "Peace Jubilee" at the Coliseum in Boston, years ago, I suggest that prizes might be offered for peace anthems and other similar vocal compositions, and that musical "peace festivals" might be held in various parts of our country; all these appeals would tend to spread the idea of peace, and would result in heart convictions regarding the attainment of it.

These are some of the agencies which might be enlisted in the cause of education for world peace through a world tribunal. These are ways in which our giant Demos must be educated; his education—in mind, heart, and will—is the all-important problem today before earnest workers in this great reform. Ministers, cabinets, and congresses bow to him when he frowns

and bend to him when he rages. His is the determining voice, his the casting vote as to international relations.

"Lord of the centuries, pardon the ages
Dark with the terror of battle and blood!
Give forth Thy light and unfold the bright pages—
Glorious era of true brotherhood."

... The Department of State last month received information that sixty-two Chinese students from Shanghai and Peking are coming to the United States to study. They were to reach San Francisco by the 3d of this September. This will make about nine hundred Chinese students in all who are being educated in the United States. Their expenses are being paid out of the eleven millions of dollars of the Boxer indemnity which was remitted to China by our Government. The "peaceable fruits" of that remission have not yet all been gathered, nor are likely to be for many a year to come.

International Arbitration and Peace Lecture Bureau, 313 Colorado Bldg., Washington, D. C.

The following persons may be secured to give addresses before public meetings, churches, schools, and other organizations, on international arbitration and peace. Those wishing their services should communicate directly with them as to dates and terms:

Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, 405 Marlboro St., Boston.
Rev. A. Eugene Bartlett, 2024 Washington Boulevard, Chicago.
Rev. Charles E. Beals, 30 North La Salle St., Chicago.
Franklin S. Blair, Guilford College, N. C.
Raymond L. Bridgman, State House, Boston.
E. Howard Brown, New Sharon, Iowa.
Arthur Deerin Call, Hartford, Conn.
W. C. Dennis, State Department, Washington.
Rev. Charles F. Dole, Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Miss Anna B. Eckstein, 29A Beacon St., Boston.
Rev. Bradley Gilman, Canton Corner, Mass.
Rev. J. J. Hall, D. D., Fayetteville, N. C.
Prof. Benjamin H. Hibbard, Ames, Iowa.
Hamilton Holt, 130 Fulton St., New York.
Rev. William G. Hubbard, Goldsboro, N. C.
K. S. Inui, Japanese Lecturer, 865 Second Ave., Detroit, Mich.

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Rev. George L. Mason, 73 Church St., Watertown, Mass.
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Lucia Ames Mead, 39 Newbury St., Boston.
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Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.
James L. Tryon, Ph. D., 31 Beacon St., Boston.

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